

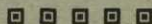
THIRTY-SECOND ANNUAL
REPORT

OF THE

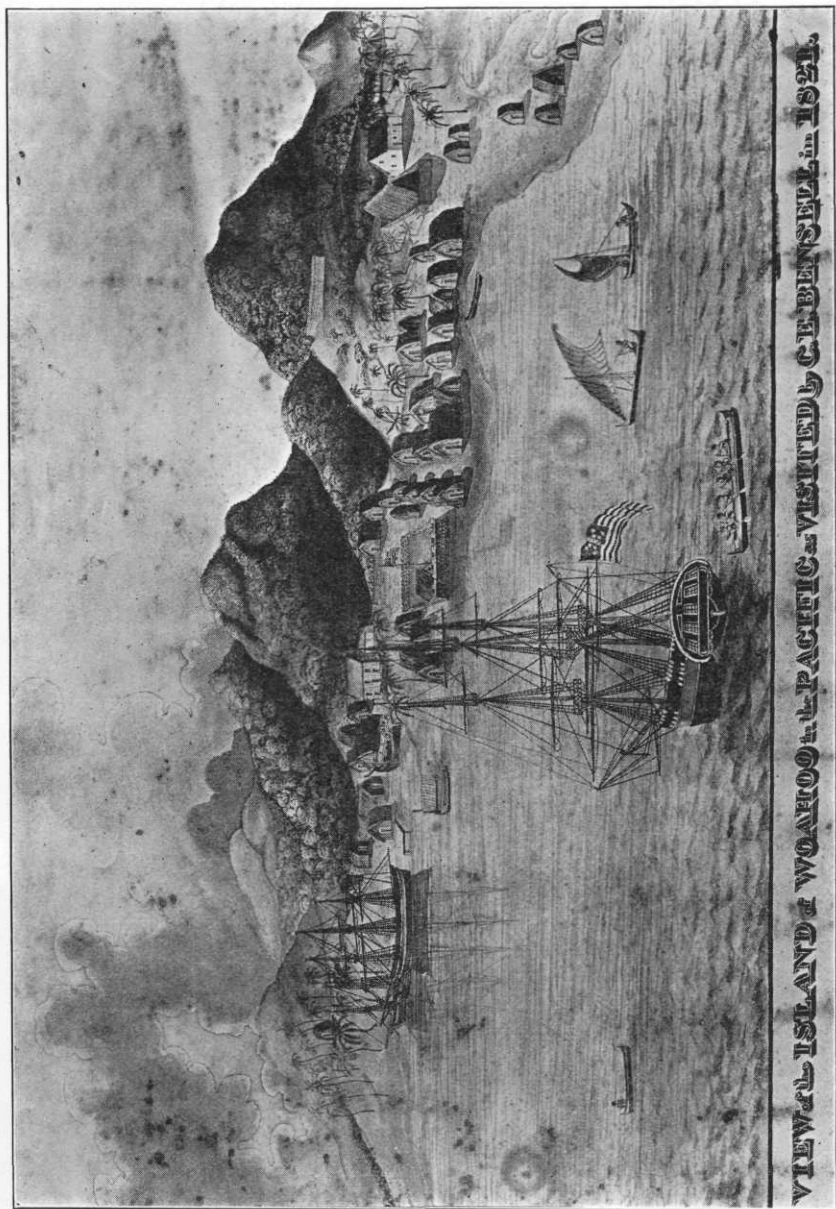
HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL
SOCIETY

FOR THE YEAR 1923

WITH PAPERS READ AT THE ANNUAL
MEETING, JANUARY 24, 1924



HONOLULU
Paradise of the Pacific Press
1924



VIEW OF ISLAND OF WAHIOA, PACIFIC, VISITED BY C. BENNETT, IN 1821.

AN EARLY VIEW OF HONOLULU
FROM THE ORIGINAL PAINTING IN THE POSSESSION OF
CHARLES H. TAYLOR OF BOSTON

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HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

OFFICERS FOR 1924

PRESIDENT.....BRUCE CARTWRIGHT
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT.....REV. H. B. RESTARICK
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT.....MRS. A. LEWIS, JR.
THIRD VICE-PRESIDENT.....HON. G. R. CARTER
RECORDING SECRETARY.....HOWARD M. BALLOU
CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.....W. D. WESTERVELT
TREASURER.....EVERARDUS BOGARDUS
LIBRARIAN.....MISS CAROLINE P. GREEN

Additional Members of Board of Managers

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HON. GEORGE R. CARTER

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Minutes of the Annual Meeting

Held Jan. 26, 1924.

The President, Mr. Bruce Cartwright, called the meeting to order.

Minutes of the last annual meeting were read and approved.

Reports of the Treasurer, President, Librarian and Corresponding Secretary, were ordered printed. The recommendations of the President's report were adopted and the Board of Managers authorized to proceed with the incorporation of the Society.

The following officers were elected for 1924:

President	Bruce Cartwright
First Vice-President.....	Rev. H. B. Restarick
Second Vice-President.....	Mrs. A. Lewis, Jr.
Third Vice-President.....	Hon. G. R. Carter
Recording Secretary.....	Howard M. Ballou
Corresponding Secretary.....	W. D. Westervelt
Treasurer	Everardus Bogardus
Librarian.....	Miss Caroline P. Green

Additional members of Board of Managers: Hon. S. B. Dole, Miss Mary Burbank, Jos. S. Emerson.

Trustee Library of Hawaii: W. D. Westervelt.

The following papers were read and ordered printed:
Heiaus (Temples) of Hawaii Nei.....Thos. G. Thrum
An Hawaiian in Mexico 1789-1790.....Ralph S. Kuykendall
The First Clergyman Resident in Hawaii..Rt. Rev. Henry B. Restarick.

EDGAR HENRIQUES, *Secretary.*

Report of the Treasurer

RECEIPTS

Balance on hand, 1922 Account.....	\$	587.21	
Membership dues		328.00	
Initiation fees		5.00	
Sale of Publications.....		39.50	
Sale of Koa display case.....		18.00	
Coupons on \$2,000 McBryde Sugar Co. Bonds		100.00	\$1,077.71
			<hr/>

DISBURSEMENTS

Library of Hawaii	\$	100.00	
Purchase of books, pamphlets, etc.....		140.19	
Printing Annual Report, 1923.....		311.30	
Administration		62.23	
Cash on hand.....		463.99	\$1,077.71
			<hr/>

ASSETS

Cash on deposit with the Bank of Hawaii, Ltd.	\$	463.99	
\$2,000 5% McBryde Sugar Co. Bonds (now in safe keeping with The Bank of Hawaii, Limited).....		2,000.00	\$2,463.99
			<hr/>

Respectfully submitted,

P. G. H. DEVERILL, *Treasurer.*

Honolulu, T. H., January 24, 1924.

I have examined the above account, and checked the vouchers covering expenses, and finding same correct in every detail, hereby approve same.

E. W. CARDEN.

President's Report

Honolulu, T. H., January 7th, 1924.

To the Members of the Hawaiian Historical Society,

Honolulu.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

Instead of addressing the Annual Meeting of the Hawaiian Historical Society orally, I believe that much time can be saved by presenting to you my message in writing in advance.

I desire first sincerely to thank the Board of Managers for their willing and helpful coöperation during the past year. We have been trying to map out a course to be followed by our Society, that will enable it to occupy the prominent position it should have as a valuable community institution.

Our Society has a great destiny to fulfil. We should become the recognized source and store-house of all historical data pertaining to Hawaii nei, Polynesia and the great Pacific area. This is a big undertaking. We are the logical ones to undertake it. In order to begin this big and valuable work we must be properly organized.

The matter of proper organization has been thoroughly studied and discussed by your President and Board of Managers during the past year. We recommend to you that you incorporate your Society at once and that you adopt a Constitution and By-Laws that will allow your officers to accomplish the greatest results with the smallest possible friction or delay.

For about 30 years our Society has been in existence. During this time a valuable library has been accumulated and annual reports, papers and other publications have been issued. We can possibly exist for another 30 years along these lines, if you are satisfied to do so. On the other hand we can develop tremendously.

We should specialize in the HISTORY of Hawaii, Poly-

nesia and the Pacific area. The history of each has a direct bearing on the other. We should publish at regular intervals a historical magazine. We should locate and properly mark locations of historical interest. We should commence the great task of compiling and publishing the "Annals of Hawaii," which should be a complete detailed history of Hawaii covering every field of historical interest completely. In other words we should present to and teach the coming generations of Hawaiians, the glorious and romantic history of Hawaii nei, so that they will take pride in their country and thus become better citizens.

In using the phrase "coming generations of Hawaiians" I mean all our young people eligible to citizenship, whether of Hawaiian, American or other parentage. We are all Hawaiians, the same as those who are born and raised in California, Texas, Missouri or Alaska are "Californians," "Missourians," "Texans," or "Alaskans." There can be no blood distinction. We are of Hawaii and therefore Hawaiians, and we are proud of Hawaii and of the History of Hawaii and intend to let the world know it.

Your Board of Managers believe that your Society should keep its individuality and be always recognized as *The Hawaiian Historical Society* and not lose its identity by combining with some other kindred organization. However, this does not mean that we should not take advantage of an opportunity to make our home with some other organization if by doing so, we better our condition and are able, by such a move, to fulfil the objects for which we are organized.

To accomplish anything worth while it is necessary to have the proper income with which to pay the salary of a regular Librarian and assistant, and to produce more and larger historical publications.

A new home may be offered us, but what good would a modernly equipped building do us if we have not the means to keep it up. Therefore, we should at once commence to raise an Endowment Fund, the interest from which, when sufficiently

large, would enable us to proceed with any program that we may adopt. The Government should support us to a certain extent, as is done in almost every similar case on the mainland, for we are an important community institution.

Your new officers for the coming year should be chosen for their ability and willingness to work for you. They should be instructed by you to devise ways and means of accomplishing the purposes for which your Society is organized. They should be instructed to present to you a program that can be followed by their successors in office, until ultimately the goal will be reached, for which you are striving.

I desire to thank you for the honor bestowed on me at the last annual meeting of the Society by electing me President of the Hawaiian Historical Society. I am not a candidate for re-election, but am willing to give my services to the Society in any way in which they may be needed. I believe that a new Constitution and By-Laws that you may adopt should provide that a President and 6 Trustees should be elected at the first meeting after the adoption of the new Constitution and By-Laws. The President and three Trustees to serve for one year. That annually thereafter a President and three new Trustees should be elected, the President to serve for one year and the three new Trustees for two years, thus continually having on the Board of Trustees three who have served for a year and are acquainted with the work being done. The Board of Trustees should elect from their number a Vice-President, a Secretary and a Treasurer annually.

Trustees should be carefully chosen for their ability and willingness to serve and work for the Society and not for the honor it will personally give them. By serving the Society well they will receive all the honor due them.

Three or more extremely interesting historical papers will be read by members of our Society. Please be present. Your interest and coöperation will help our Society and our Community.

BRUCE CARTWRIGHT, *President*.

Corresponding Secretary's Report

W. D. WESTERVELT.

Record of the death of Hon. S. Percy Smith of New Zealand should have been made in our Report for 1922. He was probably more closely connected with our own historical society than any other person outside our islands. He was a very regular correspondent with Prof. W. D. Alexander and visited these islands in 1897. He was the real founder of the New Zealand Polynesian Society Jan. 8, 1892, and by correspondence secured twenty names from Honolulu among the Charter members. Of these W. R. Castle, Sanford B. Dole and J. S. Emerson are the only survivors.

Our Hawaiian Historical Society was organized Jan. 11, 1892, including four corresponding members from New Zealand, Hon. E. Tregear, now the only survivor.

Mr. Smith, Judge Fornander, and Elsdon Best, rank as the leading students of Polynesian mythology and legendary history. Mr. Smith was the able organizer and editor of the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* published four times a year, and he published this publication through 30 volumes of always valuable material. Sometimes he complained of the lack of articles from Hawaii. This gigantic contribution to the historic legends and customs of the scattered islanders of the South Seas has done more to keep alive Polynesian research than any one cause. At the same time he wrote several books—the most important *Hawaiiiki*—the ancient home of the Maoris of New Zealand and also the ancient home of the *Maoli* (native) Hawaiians.

He was also president of the Polynesian Society from 1904 until he died at the age of 82 years.

Hon. Elsdon Best, the present president of the society, is publishing a remarkably excellent series of pamphlets on Maori

Astronomy, Divisions of Time, The Maori School of Learning or the Whare-kura, Fishing, Games, Spiritual and Mental Maori concepts and many more interesting subjects.

Investigations are not really valuable until they have been put in permanent printed form. The Bishop Museum has made the studies of Dr. Handy in the Marquesas and Dr. Collocott in the Tongan Islands and other printed papers available to all students. This includes an especially notable collection of myths and legends from Kauai compiled by Hon. Wm. Hyde Rice. These are very worth while for future comparative study of the literature of the whole Polynesian field.

Prof. Kuykendall has published, the last year, an excellent paper on Captain Brown, a trader who visited these islands in 1793. This was given a place in the publications of the Oregon Historical Society.

During 1923 the Hawaiian Dictionary, revised by Rev. H. H. Parker, has been put on sale. This is by all odds the most important publication of recent years as far as Hawaii is concerned. A large part of these dictionaries have been disposed of and practically not over 300 copies are now available for intending purchasers.

My fellow members will pardon one quotation from the many similar reviews of my sixth book of Hawaiian ancient literature, just published—Hawaiian Historical Legends. The Boston Transcript contrasts this book with the "impression the average American gains of these islands from ukulele-playing, etc."—and urges, "not only the quality of entertainment but also of historical importance which will make this book necessary for all American libraries."

Our associate historical societies on the islands of Maui and Kauai are moving along successfully gathering legends, building up libraries, and laying foundations for future studies of Hawaiian affairs. Mrs. Wilcox on Kauai has erected a fine building at Lihue in memory of her husband and named it, The Albert Wilcox Memorial Library. Hilo, Hawaii, also has a good library building, and library for public use.

Report of the Librarian

To the Officers and Members of the Hawaiian Historical Society:

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:—Early in the year I finished the work on the manuscript of a classified catalog of the bound books in the library. The copy is ready for the printer as soon as funds are available. Since then, as time permitted, I have cataloged the new accessions, and sorted a large number of pamphlets.

Fourteen new titles were purchased: "Herman Melville, Mariner and Mystic," by R. M. Weaver; "The Ornamental Trees of Hawaii," by J. F. C. Rock; "The Fundamental Law of Hawaii," edited by Lorrin A. Thurston; "The Land of the O-o," by Ash Slivers; "The House of Pride," and "On the Makaloa Mat," by Jack London; "A Daughter of the Dawn," by Marion R. Parsons; the new edition of "Andrews' Dictionary of the Hawaiian Language," revised by Henry H. Parker, and published by the Archives Commission; "Hawaiian Legends of Love and Death," by H. H. Gowen; "Seeing Hawaii on American Pluck," by J. H. Anderson; "Vancouver's Discovery of Puget Sound," by E. S. Meany; "Menzie's Journal of Vancouver's Voyage, April to October, 1792," published as Memoir No. 5 of the Archives of British Columbia; the Jubilee number of Mr. Thrum's Hawaiian annual, and "The Missionary's Daughter, a Memoir of Lucy Goodale Thurston of the Sandwich Islands," published in 1842. This quaint little book is the story and journal of the second daughter of Rev. Asa and Lucy G. Thurston. In childish language she tells of early mission life in Kailua, of a journey around the Island of Hawaii, and a visit to Kilauea in 1839; and then of the long journey from Honolulu to New York, around Cape Horn. She died in Brooklyn in 1841, aged seventeen years.

Another little girl of the early days kept a record also, and

in the gift of Mary Dillingham Frear we have "Emma L. Smith's Journal Book, written at the age of six, Honolulu, Sandwich Islands."

Other gifts of note are: "Bartimeus of the Sandwich Islands," by Hiram Bingham, and the second edition of "The Memoir of Keopuolani," published in 1833. Both were sent from Boston by Mr. Percival Merritt.

A first edition of the Bible in the Gilbert Island language, is the gift of Mrs. S. M. Sutherland, who is a niece of the translator, Rev. Hiram Bingham II.

"A Northwest Trader at the Hawaiian Islands," by Prof. R. S. Kuykendall, is a gift from the author.

The Dominion Museum in Wellington sent four monographs on the religion and myths of the Maoris.

Mr. Henry Hart of San Francisco, who is a member of this Society, and also a collector of Hawaiiana, paid the library a brief visit on his way home from the Orient last June. He was very much interested in our collection and after he reached home, sent us "A Dictionary of the Land of Mota, Sugarloaf Island," "A Phrase Book of the Cook Islands in English and Maori," "A History of the Peninsular Malays," and "Papers on the Life, Customs and Industries of the Malay People."

Prof. D. L. Crawford, of the University of Hawaii, kindly gave the library a copy of "The Crown Lands of Hawaii": a thesis by Thomas Marshall Spaulding, a University publication of great historical interest. From Mr. Henry R. Wagner of Berkeley, I have received manuscripts of business correspondence between Janion & Starkey of Honolulu and a firm in San Francisco, in 1848.

Three new titles were presented by Mr. Westervelt: "The Coming Hawaii," by Joseph K. Goodrich; "Beginnings of San Francisco, 1774-1850," by Z. S. Eldrege, 2 vols., and a copy of his own latest book, "Hawaiian Historical Legends," just from the press.

Mr. John A. Ferguson, a barrister in Sydney, wrote en-

closing money for a set of our publications. I sent him a file as complete as possible, and received in return a very nice letter and two of his own works: "A Bibliography of the New Hebrides, and History of the Mission Press," of which only twenty copies were printed and "Rev. Samuel Marsden: His life and work," a paper read before the Royal Australian Historical Society. Mr. Marsden was a New Zealand pioneer.

From the Bishop Museum we have received the Director's Report for 1922; and a number of very interesting bulletins, including the one on Hawaiian Legends by Mr. William H. Rice of Kauai.

We are indebted to Mrs. John F. Doyle and her sister, Mrs. Richardson, for valuable pamphlets; also to Mr. George P. Castle, Miss Ethelwin Castle, Mr. F. J. Lowrey, Mr. T. H. Gibson, Mr. Kenneth P. Emory, Mr. A. C. Alexander and Judge F. W. Howay of New Westminster, B. C., for valuable books, pamphlets, clippings and photographs; also to Lieutenant-Commander Samuel Wilder King for the loan of pictures in the show case.

Mr. Bruce Cartwright secured some very interesting old maps, which have been framed, and has also given the Society two fine models of ships.

The library has been used a great deal for reference work during the past year, and I have had many requests for copies of the reports and papers, both from individuals and libraries. It is to be regretted that some of our publications are out of print.

Respectfully submitted,

CAROLINE P. GREEN,

Librarian.

Heiaus (Temples) of Hawaii Nei

A Brief Historic Sketch of the more notable Heiaus throughout the Hawaiian Islands.

BY THOMAS G. THRUM.

As time goes by it becomes more and more incumbent upon this Society to improve its opportunities to rescue as far as possible all those things relative to the past of Hawaii and her people, not only for our own better understanding of the problems and traditions of the race prior to their contact with civilization, but to record the same for others to profit by, or possibly improve upon, in years to come. Especially is this true of that phase of Hawaiian life that was hedged in and governed by the priesthood, with their innumerable restrictive kapus, religious and political, which enjoined secrecy upon all that pertained to the working of the order, that accounts for the meager information found of record, and of such fragmentary character that leaves the researcher at sea for those things left unsaid to enable him clearly to picture the subject. Early scholars found that mythology, the priesthood, the various orders of sorcery and much folk-lore were so shrouded in mystic and obsolete terms that they are but partially represented in the dictionary. Even to this day there are aged Hawaiians who consider the ancient kapus still enjoin them to secrecy in the ancient religious rites and ceremonies, and even the identification of temple sites, handed down to them. Hence the difficulty experienced in my diligent search along these lines the past fifteen years, which accounts in part for the delay of this contribution.

The growing interest in Hawaiian folk-lore, and demand for the preservation of heiaus as of historic interest throughout the islands, are gratifying evidences of recognition of effort to interest the public therein before it was too late.

It may be only a coincidence, but an interesting fact nevertheless, that the first island of my labors in identifying and locating the temples and temple sites, Kauai, should be the first one, recently, to secure its County's aid toward their recognition as historic landmarks.

It is perhaps well that I was ignorant of the formidableness of the quest I was undertaking, else I would have shrunk back to "let George do it," but after much inquiry, being told that there might be sixty or seventy heiaus—showing how little was generally known on the subject,—I entered in, and was lured on by the interest the subject developed through the kindly coöperation in the search everywhere met with, whereby over 520 heiaus and heiau sites have been located throughout the islands. And all of them open to the heavens; not a covered structure anywhere in the group.

The noted historical temples of our several histories—Dibble, Bingham, Jarves, Alexander,—fall far short in number, and lack in many details which give them special interest. The best known, because among the last erected, and by Kamehameha, is that of Puukohola, the Kawaihae temple, but none of them mentions that a former temple of the same name on this same hill-site figures in the battles of Lonoikamakahiki over two hundred years earlier, probably about 1580. Its reconstruction by Kamehameha was about 1793, and is well described in the histories, thanks to Rev. Wm. Ellis, who wrote of it in 1823, thirty years after completion, and but four years after its disuse. The cause of its erection by Kamehameha was for his supremacy on Hawaii, for he had not subdued all opposition. He was advised in this step by Kapoukahi, Kauai's most renowned prophet, to whom Haalou, the grandmother of Kaahumanu was sent by the king for advice as to the best course to effect his desire.

But one chief was exempt from the labor of its construction, says Kamakau, "to observe the kapu," so important was the undertaking that Kamehameha himself took part in its stone

work. When completed, but not consecrated, messengers were sent to Keoua, Kamehameha's contender, in Kau, to visit Kamehameha on the pretext of amicably settling their differences, but he was treacherously slain on landing at Kawaihae, and his body taken and offered up in sacrifice on the new temple's altar.

Puuaohola heiau is an irregular parallelogram, 224 x 100 feet in size, with compact walls of loose stones (as was all Hawaiian stone work), twelve feet thick at the base and narrowed to six feet at the top, which, on the mauka or inland side was twenty feet high. Its seaward wall was but seven or eight feet in height. At its dedication to Kamehameha's war-god, Ellis says that eleven human victims were immolated on its altar.

From the nature of the work in its erection—all unaided manual labor—, and interrupted by war commotions, it was long in progress. Fornander says: "that during several years of struggle with Keoua the great heiau of Puukohola was in course of construction, but having been unsuccessful in coping with his adversary he acted on the Kauai soothsayer's advice and resumed his heiau labors with a vigor and zeal quickened, perhaps, by a conscience of neglected duty, with all the people and chiefs from Kona, Kohala and Hamakua assisting in its building."

Near by is the heiau of Mailekini, about 200 feet below it, a narrow, longer structure, being 250 x 85 feet. Of this much older one little of its history is learned, or whether or not it had any working connection with its neighbor. Trace of an underground passage was said to exist in early days, but it is not known what purpose it may have had. Tradition states that it had been in Kamehameha's plan to reconstruct Mailekini, but on Kapoukahi's advice all his labors were centered upon the upper one.

It is a far cry from this noted temple of Puukohola to that of Wahaula, in Puna, Hawaii, which marks the arrival in these

islands of Paao, the high priest from Samoa, in the eleventh century, whereby a new type of temple structure, idol worship, and priestly ritual was introduced. But historic interest naturally looks for origins.

Paao, with his companion chief, Pili, landed first in Puna, and built a heiau for his god at Pulama, adjoining Kahaualea (not far from Kalapana), now known as Wahaula, said originally to have been Ahaula. This temple has had several reconstructions, during which it is believed to have suffered reduction. One occasion was to recover from an aa flow. Its original enclosure is said to have had a sacred grove which comprised one or more specimens of every tree growing in these islands. The heiau was built in the quadrangular form which characterized all those built under and after the religious régime introduced by Paao. Its first traditional rebuilding is credited to Imaikalani, a famous chief of Puna and Kau, in the sixteenth century, and again in the time of Kalaniopuu, about 1770, and finally repaired by Kamehameha, which has made it one of the best conditioned of the ruined temples in all the islands.

At the time of my visit in 1907, I found it a walled structure, 132 x 72 feet in size, with walls eight to ten feet high, and still in good order for its age. A good model of this heiau and adjoining enclosure may be seen in Hawaiian Hall of the Bishop Museum.

It is an interesting fact that this first temple of Paao's introduced régime should be the last one to give up its heathen worship and practice at the overthrow of idolatry in 1819. The character of Wahaula is reputed to have been one of rigid kapus and most cruel of human sacrifices, that required ten or more priests for the performance of its services.

A second temple structure credited to Paao is that of Mookini, on the land of Puuepa, Kohala, of extra large size and massive walls, far different in character from Wahaula. It is an irregular parallelogram in form, with walls even now

measuring 267 feet on the west side, 250 feet on the east side, the north end being 135 feet and the south end 112 feet wide. The height of its walls have been over twenty feet, with a width on top of eight feet, and thirty at their base. The stones of which it is built are said to have been brought from Pololu valley, some ten miles distant, which were passed by hand from man to man the entire distance, a feat requiring at least 15,000 men. No doubt there have been repair periods in its time to have confused accounts of construction in comparative recent years, as an old man, in 1841, who claimed to have been a priest of the establishment when he was a young man, said ten men were offered up in sacrifice at its dedication. Other old natives of the district also declared themselves to have been eye witnesses of the ceremony.

Umi's time (1490-1525), is marked as a period of activity in temple structures in various parts of Hawaii, and we are indebted to his history for the reference to a number of notable heiaus by earlier kings.

The mention of Umi at once brings to mind his father, Liloa, and the valley of Waipio, with its famed temples and place of refuge known as Pakaalana, which antedates the reign of Kiha, grandfather of Umi, many years, as it is mentioned in the tradition of Kila, son of Moikeha, in the 11th century. It seems contrary that it should be known as the puuhonua or place of refuge for all of windward Hawaii, and yet be famed for the severe kapus and wholesale sacrifices accredited to it by various traditions until its destruction by the kings of Maui and Kauai, in 1791, in their raid on Hawaii in warring against Kamehameha. Little now remains to mark its site.

Lono, the god of peace rather than war, was the deity of Pakaalana in the time of Kiha, and here Ika, chief of a bandit clan, with his companions, were slain by Kiha and sacrificed upon its altar. Umi also, it is said, while celebrating his victories over the several divisions of Hawaii by the sacrifices of his captives at this place, the voice of his god, Kuahilo, was

heard from the clouds demanding more men. This was repeated till all his attendants, over eighty in number, were slain, and but he and the priest alone remained.

Another heiau of the valley made famous through Umi was that of Honuaula, said to have been erected by Liloa, 210 x 90 feet in size, on whose altar, after Umi's successful encounter with his half brother Hakau, successor of Liloa, he (Hakau), and his vanquished attendants were offered up in sacrifice. Tradition hath it that when Hakau and his companions were placed in sacrifice upon the altar [of Honuaula], amid thunder and lightning, the tongue of God appeared out of heaven which caused the altar to tremble and the burnt sacrifices to be quickly consumed.

The heiau of Moaula, also in Waipio, comes into fame much later through its repair and consecration by Kalaniopuu, attendant upon his proclamation of Kiwala-o as his heir and successor, while to Kamehameha was assigned the care of the priesthood and his war-god Kaili, which became the famed Kukailimoku of his reign.

Of the many heiaus that marked the struggles of rival chiefs throughout Kona, Umi shines as a master-builder for the close-fitting and smooth finish of the stone-work of his period, whose monument in the Ahua-a-Umi ruins on the high plateau between Hawaii's three mountains are the puzzle of antiquarians as to the design of the builder beyond the traditional account directing "his sons and daughters, the chiefs and people all over Hawaii and Maui to hew squared stones a fathom in length, a yard wide and half a yard deep, for a tomb for his body." The principal structure is designated by Wilkes, in his visit and survey of the famed premises in 1840, as the "temple of Kaili," with the several pyramidal structures to represent the districts of the island, and the House of Papa around it. A careful comparative and descriptive account of this heiau-memorial, by Dr. A. S. Baker, with plans, is given in the Hawaiian Annual for 1917, pp. 62-70.

Umi's activities in reconstruction and dedication of temples throw new light on several important heiaus of earlier times.

A very prominent and important heiau of the district of Kona, of which nothing now remains, was that of Ahuena, at Kailua, said to have been 150 x 120 feet in size, and of truncated form, indicative of great antiquity. It figures in Liloa's time, and is the first one mentioned as put in repair by Kamehameha in his tour of Hawaii, for this service and replenishing of images. Vancouver in his visit to Kailua in 1794, describes it as "the most complete structure of the kind and kept in the greatest order and repair of any he had seen, decorated with several statues or idols carved out of the trunks of trees to imitate the human form, but of the most gigantic and preposterous figures." Here was kept the war-god, and human sacrifices were offered on its altar. Following the abolition of idolatry in 1819, it was changed to a fort, its seaward wall being widened for the placement of cannon. Three idols were retained upon its front wall, one at each end and one in the center, one of which stood sixteen feet above the wall, and over three feet in breadth, carved out of a single tree. This structure was entirely demolished subsequent to Governor Kuakini's death.

Keikipu'ipu'i was a Kailua heiau credited for its construction to Liloa, of but 100 x 80 feet in size, yet whose paehumu (enclosing fence) contained forty images. It was of the pookanaka or human sacrifice class, and is listed among those put in repair by Kalaniopu'u during his war against Kahekili of Maui. The historian Kamakau terms this as Kamehameha's Kailua heiau. It furthermore has the distinction of being demolished to furnish stones for the first church on Hawaii.

Two very ancient heiaus of the district, the origin of which tradition affords no clue, yet figure prominently in the sixteenth century and later, are Ohiamukumuku and Makole-a, both in the Kahaluu section. The first named was 150 x 120 feet in size, and has mention in the early wars with Maui, and

the place of sacrifice of Kamalalawalu, its famous king, and his general Makakukalani, whose raid of Kona in the time of Lonoikamakahiki met with ignominious defeat. Tradition couples with this sacrifice the death of two dogs brought over from Maui as mascots, a white one named Kauakahiaola, and a blind black one named Kapapako, which, on the death of their royal master are said to have laid down by the walls of the temple and died, and were there buried.

In later years Ohiamukumuku is one of those put in order by Kalaniopuu and dedicated to his war-god Kaili, under charge of his high priest Holoa'e, to maintain its service to accomplish the defeat and death of Kahekili, Maui's king. The stones of this heiau also served for church building.

Makole-a was a smaller heiau, but 90 x 75 feet, and appears among those consecrated by Lonoikamakahiki. Its remains in 1908 were said to be still in fair condition. Its connection with Ohiamukumuku is shown in the death of Kamalalawalu, he having been slain at that temple and his body burned on the altar of Makole-a. During the period of intrigues against Lono a rebel chief named Kapulani was captured and condemned to death at this temple and ordered to be sacrificed the next morning, but during the night the culprit was liberated by Lalaniouini, a niece of the king, and made his escape into Kau and was not further molested. Makole-a is named as one of those consecrated by Lono on his journey around Hawaii as acknowledgment to the gods for his victories; Muleiula and Puukohola being others.

Among other heiaus of Kahuluu of evident importance in their time, but of which little of historic interest is now gathered, is that of Kapuanoni, a large temple structure of puuhonua character, credited to the time of Lono. As evidence of its refuge purpose tradition states that when one Malaihi was its kahu (keeper) a native fled to it from Pahoehe, followed in by his pursuers, was seized, and led off without remonstrance, which violation coming to the ears of the king, he had

the keeper slain and sacrificed on the altar of Ohiamukumuku.

Hapaialii, a heiau of large dimensions, 300 x 170 feet, is credited to Kamehameha as its builder after the battle of Mokuohai, about 1782, about the same time as Keeku, though its stones indicate it as belonging more likely to the earlier period of Umi. Hewahewa was its priest, who joined with Kamehameha II in the overthrow of idolatry. Having been built on the seashore and partly on the sand, little is now left to mark Hapaialii's site.

Keeku (originally known as Kamaikeeku) is also credited to Kamehameha as its builder. It is noted for its heavy construction, considering its size, 170 x 130 feet, with high walls, and is marked in recent years by a tall lone Hawaiian palm and many coconut trees within its area. The outer walls of Keeku are yet fair in parts, but little remains of its interior divisions.

We come now to the historic temple of Hikiau, at Napoopoo, Kealakekua bay, made famous through the participation of Captain Cook in its ceremonies with Koa the high priest, accompanied by Captain King, who has preserved us a detailed account of the novel event in Cook's third voyage. The time of the erection of Hikiau is nowhere mentioned, but its described pyramidal form indicates it as very ancient. It was 190 x 105 feet in size; its front or seaward wall built up some fifteen feet; of two divisions; well paved; its outer walls adorned with paeumu images.

Writers are in error in their statement of the serious affront to priests, chiefs and people, by the seizure of three of these paeumu images by the crew of Cook's vessels and taking them aboard for firewood, to cause the breach that led to Cook's death. The paeumu images at no time were held in the sacred kapu scale as the idols of worship. This statement is on the authority of the historian Kamakau, and is borne out by the acts of Kawelo, in taking the paeumu images of the Puehu heiau, at Waianae, for his need on the eve of his departure for Kauai, as also Umi's, at Moaula heiau, Waipio.

An attempt at the repair of Hikiau by direction of the Superintendent of Public Works, for its historic interest to visitors, was made in 1917, resulting in such change as in no way conforms to published descriptions of the heiau, either in size or temple features.

Kiwala-o, cousin and co-heir with Kamehameha of the kingdom of Hawaii, who met his death at the battle of Mokuohai, was said to have been interred in the temple of Hikiau, but of this there are grounds for grave doubt.

About two miles beyond Napoopoo is the celebrated City of Refuge, at Honaunau, reached by a fairly good auto road. Its heiaus (now reduced to two) and walls of the enclosure of several acres have been lately put in good repair, but the noted Hale o Keawe, where reposed the bones of kings, chiefs and warriors of the past 250 years, when it was described by Ellis in 1823, was long since removed by order of Kaahumannu. The more notable of the remains now repose in the Mausoleum grounds, Nuuanu valley.

Alealea, the prominent heiau of this refuge enclosure, is a mass of stones 128 x 64 feet in size, and ten feet high. Two immense squared blocks of volcanic stone lie in near proximity on either side of this structure, known as the "Keoua," and "Kaahumanu" stones.

Akahipapa, known as "Heiau no na Wahine" (women's heiau), in the same enclosure, is but 24 x 28 feet in size, the only one of such kind known throughout the islands, the purpose of which has no mention by either Malo or Kamakua. This City of Refuge is credited by Fornander to Kanuha, son of Keawe II, as its builder.

Of the twenty-odd heiaus of Kau, Keeku, at Kaioa, is the more notable for its size, antiquity and internal features. It is described as 190 x 100 feet measurement; of several divisions, built some 400 years ago. One platform 30x40 feet is outside its mauka end, and one thirty feet square is on its west side, while within the temple walls are three platform divisions. Its

western wall is gone, but the others were in fair order a few years ago.

At Kamaoa was the Pakini heiau of Kalaniopuu's construction, where Kamehameha usurped the province of Kiwala-o in offering up the Puna chief, Imakakaloa, for sacrifice upon its altar. Its site even is now lost.

Of Hilo's temples few stand out with historic interest. The heiau of Kaipapaloa that stood near the armory site, was the one where Umi was to have been sacrificed if he failed to produce his royal niho palaoa (ivory toothed necklace) within a given time, and the place where Kamehameha is said to have proclaimed his Mamalahoa law. This heiau was destroyed in Kuakini's time.

Kanoa, at Puuco, was a medium sized heiau 80 x 60 feet, consecrated by Kalaniopuu to his war-god. It has mention in tradition but of little historic interest. Its walls were thrown down prior to 1853, and entirely destroyed in 1898.

On the Hilo shore opposite Coconut Island was the Makaoku heiau, of luakini class, connected with the noted place of refuge called Mokuola, as the island was called. It is said to have had a high stone pyramid as if for observation. This heiau was demolished by Captain Spencer in the 'sixties and the stones taken for his boat landing.

MAUI'S TEMPLES.

Time and wanton destruction have made sad inroads in the long list of Maui's monuments of priestly rule and ambitious alii's, which tradition has handed down as the record of her warrior chiefs, for but few of these noted temple structures are now in evidence.

The notorious Hua-a-Pohukaina, an early King of Maui, is credited with building the first heiaus on that island, at Lahaina, his birthplace, where he erected two, Luakona and Wai-ie, and afterwards, on his way to wage war against the king of Hilo, he made a stay at Hana where he erected the

war heiau of Honuaula, 70 x 120 feet, at Wananalua, to propitiate the gods for his success, then returned there and erected another at the base of Kauiki, a smaller one, called Kuawalu, in celebration of his victories.

In the tradition of the Huas (for there were four of them), this same Hua-a-Pohukaina became infamous, as it is recorded of him that through a dispute with Luahoomoe, his high priest, about some birds, he in anger condemned the priest to death and his house to be burnt. The vengeance for this act was swift in coming and terrible in its consequences, for the springs dried up; the streams ceased running; no rain fell for three and a half years, and famine and desolation spread abroad, so that Hua and his people perished miserably, whereby the saying arose: "Nakeke na iwi a Hua i ka la" (Rattling are the bones of Hua in the sun).

The strategic position of Hana, which made it the storm center of war raids, both within and without, is shown by the number of important sacrificial heiaus throughout the island, notably those of Wailuku, of Hana and adjoining districts. The most important of these in this south-eastern division and the largest in all the island is that of Lo'alo'a, at Kumunui, in the Kaupo district, a walled structure of two or more divisions, the eastern section measuring 101 x 264 feet, with the western portion hid in dense jungle, probably fully as long, built up some thirty feet high at the foot of a spur of Haleakala, credited to Kekaulike for its construction about 1730, as also the temples of Popoiwi and Puumaka-a, in the same district, prior to his raid on the Kona coast of Hawaii against Alapai-nui.

The surrounding walls of Lo'alo'a had been removed in places at the time of my visit, and its eastern and seaward front wall changed to a row of pyramids, breast high, some four to six feet apart. Its floor had been well paved but was in a much disturbed condition, save a distinct path of smooth stones which ran across, some twenty feet from the southern division which stood a few feet higher, a feature resembling Puukohola.

These three mentioned Kaupo temples, as also that of Maulili, in Kipahulu, received Kamehameha's solicitous care on his touching here with his peleleu fleet in 1802, en route for Kauai—as he planned—, for he put them all in repair and dedicated them to his war-god. Connected with these temple services also at this time was the ceremony of empowering his son Liholiho with the sacred duties of temple consecration, etc.

Another large and important heiau, of built-up platform type, was that of Kanekauila, in the adjoining district of Kipahula, the site for years past of the Catholic church. Little of ancient heiau features remain save its pebbled paving in the northern corner. The front or seaward wall measurement gave it a width of 173 feet. Its mauka limit was not well defined but must have been fully 250 feet. Some confusion prevails as to this being but one, or the site of two heiaus, known as Kalakalahale, and Kanekauila, but no dual evidence was found. Tradition is silent as to the time and builder of this structure.

West Maui is the next section claiming important war temples, and it is from history of comparative modern times we glean the following facts, so little is there of evidence remaining.

Of the seven Wailuku heiaus, five of them are named as consecrated by Liholiho on his tour for this service during the year's stay of the peleleu fleet at Maui, viz: Pihana, Kaluli, Malumaluakua, and Olopio, as also Kealakaihonua, at Waihee, that the gods would favor Kamahameha's ambitions. It is at this stage of the expedition mention is made for the first time of the king's advisory board of priests. It consisted of the high priests Puou and Hewahewa his father, of the Paa'o order of priesthood; Kuaiwa and Holoilena of the Nahulu order, and Kapoukahi the diviner and heiau architect of Kauai.

According to tradition the time of Pihana dates far back. It was built on the top of a sand-knoll of that name at the northern boundary of Wailuku, and the massiveness of its

ruins, and solicitude of rulers for its care clearly indicates its war character. It was an enclosed structure, about 300 x 120 feet dimension, with walls said to have been fifteen feet high, and credited to the Menehunes for its building in one night with stones from Pankukalo beach. On Kamehameha's invasion of Maui in 1790 with his army, which resulted in the defeat of Kalanikupule in the famous battle of Iao, it is said that he invoked the blessing of his war-god Kukailimoku at the Pihana heiau, and sacrificed upon its altar.

Of Kaluli little is gathered of important particulars beyond the fact of its frequent mention in connection with Kahekili. Its erection is credited to Kaleopuupuu, his high priest, about 1775. In anticipation of war with Kalaniopuu of Hawaii, Kahekili had it put in order by direction of his priest; and at the annihilation of Aalapai's invading army so that but two escaped, a wounded chief of Hilo was brought to Kahekili for sacrifice on Kaluli's altar in honor of the victory, but in this the victors were disappointed, as the captive died of his wounds before he could be offered up to the gods.

The Kealakaihonua heiau at Waihee is said to have belonged to a prominent chief named Koi, one of Kahekili's generals, and a priest of the Kaleopuupuu order, who led in the assault on the officers and boat's crew of the *Dædalus*, at Waimea, Oahu, in 1792.

Of the several Lahaina heiaus, three are said to belong to the time of Kahekili, of which Halulukoakoa and Wailehua are distinguished as receiving Liholiho's first public duty by his consecration of them in 1802, having been sanctified to that service as heir of Kamehameha at the early age of five years.

The erection of Wailehua is responsible for a rebellion on Maui, caused by the carrying of stones for its building, incited by Pinaau, a counselor and priest in the time of Kauhi-a-Kama, eldest son of Kekaulike, against the authority of Kamehamehanui, about 1740.

Molokai's most noted heiau is that of Iliiliopoi, situated

in the Mapulehu valley, famous alike for its size, age and traditions. It is believed to ante-date Umi's time, yet carries the cruciform pavement feature of his reign. Its present size—much reduced from an earlier period—is 268 feet long by 85 feet wide of floor surface. The structure stands over twenty feet high at the east end, built up in four terraces, and is ten feet high at the west end; is rectangular in shape, and of open platform character, though a section on the southern side toward the west end shows the remains of a wall about a foot high once existed.

Originally the heiau is said to have been three times its present area, and of a different type, possibly a walled structure. This was largely demolished by a cloud-burst in the mountains, together with the priests' houses and those of many of the people. The temple was rebuilt as now, from stones gathered in the time of Kaalaunohua, the reigning chief of Molokai.

Kumukoa, at Manawai, 170 x 60 feet, and Mana at Halawa, 120 x 60 feet, were of the truncated pyramidal form in construction; the former terraced, standing twenty feet at its highest point.

Kukuiohapuu was a heiau at the top of Kalaupapa pali, 100 x 60 feet, of the pookanaka class, and was the place for signal fires to Oahu in time of war. It is said to have been destroyed in the time of Kamehameha V.

OAHU'S TEMPLES.

Judging by the one hundred and eight heiaus of Oahu, this island must have been a hot-bed of political intrigue and priestly power, from the prominence so many of them held in the several districts at different periods in her history. Several of these historic landmarks remain, a few of which are comparatively conveniently situated and worthy of preservation as relics of the past. The handiest, because by the roadside of daily train and automobile travel, is that of Kupopolo, in the

Waialua district, near the turn into Waimea valley, some four miles from Haleiwa.

This heiau I found to be larger than Kamehameha's famous Kawaihae temple, and of platform type, which measured 266 feet along its front base, and was of two divisions, the eastern one being 112 x 92 feet, and the adjoining western one 150 x 110 feet, with division wall breast high between. Both sections are filled to the height of the outer walls with round unbroken stones, well leveled off in certain divisions with pebbles and broken rock. Its front shows a double wall base along which a pathway led up to the eastern end, perhaps for entrance. The structure stands six to eight feet high on the front, and with its enclosure at the rear occupies a little over half an acre. The time of its erection is not known, but it figures prominently in the time of Kahahana, the defeated King of Oahu, through the intrigues of Kahekili, consequent upon Kahahana's murder of its priest, Kaopulupulu, and the drowning of his son, at which the priest prophesied that their deaths would be avenged by the overthrow of the kingdom to be ruled from overseas, which, since annexation, many Hawaiians accept as the truth foretold by Kaopulupulu.

A much larger heiau, second only to the Lo'alo'a temple of Maui, is that of Puu-o-Mahuka on the Pupukea upland overlooking Waimea, which in some way worked in connection with the Kupopolo temple, as Kaopulupulu is said to have ministered at both. It is a walled heiau of two sections, the upper one being 281 x 127 feet, and the lower one 186 x 168 feet, giving a total length of 467 feet. For its size its walls are light, being but about three feet in thickness and standing from five to ten feet high, according to the slope of the land. Both sections had been stone paved, but are now a labyrinth of stone mounds, to have permitted, perhaps, the cultivation of its grounds in later years. The peculiar features that marked each section, so unlike any other met with gave its individuality added interest.

Little is gathered of the history of Puu-o-Mahuka. Tradition places the time of its construction in the dim past by crediting it to the mythical Menehunes, and the fierceness of its dedicatory fires warmed the hills of Kauai. This gives a clue to its type as of the severe pookanaka or human sacrifice class. Being able to identify it with Kaopulupulu defines it about the middle or latter part of the 18th century. From its prominence and nearness to Waimea it was thought likely to have been the temple to which the bodies of the murdered officers and sailor of the watering party of the *Dædalus*, in 1792, were taken, but this, like Kupopolo, was evidently too near the avenging guns of the ship, and the searching party, for the dead bodies were carried during the night across the district, says Kamakau, to the Mokuleia heiau. This statement led me a long search in that section for a prominent temple as would be given the preference at so important and exciting a time, finally settling upon Onehana, a large heiau of built up, platform character, termed an unu, that stands on the hill slope directly back of the Waialua Agricultural Co.'s mill. While this is not in the section of the district now known as Mokuleia, I learned from the late Henry Wharton and other old residents of the district that Mokuleia's southern boundary line came to the northern bank of the Paukaula stream, and thus included Onehana.

Tradition puts the temple of Onehana in the fearsome class by the number of sacrifices claimed for it, as also the ominous sounds of drum and conch which are said to emanate from its precincts on the kapu nights of Kane. It is doubtless the oldest of these three remaining mentioned, being heavier built; of different type, and its rear section hidden by soil accretions so that its full size could not be determined. Its front measured 100 feet across, and though badly broken down was likely ten feet high.

Nothing remains of the many others of this district, several of which held fragmentary traditional interest. The same is

to be said of Waianae's list. But one is standing of a number of more or less importance in their day. The lone survivor is Kaneaki, well up in Makaha valley, near the roadside, a walled heiau of two sections, 45 x 59 and 70 x 75 feet, somewhat L shaped, the smaller division being six feet above the other, both well paved and the best preserved in the district.

In windward Oahu are a few remaining of a once historic section as the landing place and residence of Olopana and party from Kahiki, in the 12th century; his traditional encounters with the demigod Kamapuaa to be finally slain on the altar of his own direction; the birthplace of Kualii, famous king of Oahu, as also a connecting link with other notables, lends interest to one's search, that even a partial reward affords gratification.

The most prominent of the ruined heiaus located was that of Upo, or Ulupo (as some call it), in the Kailua section or Koolaupoko, quite handy on the left side of the road leading to the beach lots, sheltered by an attractive grove of trees. This was found to be of open platform type, measuring about 140 x 180 feet, considering its tumbled down condition, due to its antiquity and exposed locality for the trespass of stock, for it was not a walled up structure except on the side and end extending into the valley. The time of its erection, as also its class and builder are facts unknown, and is therefore traditionally attributed to the Menehunes.

Another apparently important temple of unknown origin was found in Kailua on the Kapaa slope facing the range of hills dividing Kaneohe; a walled structure which measured 120 x 180 feet, with walls six to eight feet high. This heiau was reported as Makini, but known locally as Mookini. A walled section 32 x 38 feet adjoins it on the northern side, possibly a modern addition. A heavy growth of shrubbery did not permit an examination of its interior features to determine its class, which doubtless was of the dread order, as Upo very likely was, but it was the best conditioned of all Koolau's temples.

Near by on the hill slope, amid a cluster of rocks was one that attracted attention and interest, being large and flat, with a peculiar natural grooved surface sufficient in size to accommodate a man's body, and may have had a connection with the temple's sacrifices. But there was no one left to tell its traditions. Chinese and a lone Japanese now took the place of Hawaiians in the vicinity.

Alala, that connected with the history of Kaulii as the heiau where the ceremonies attending his royal birth, about 1640, were performed, was entirely a thing of the past, not a trace of its site being discernable.

Kawa'ewa'e, identified with the demigod Kamapuaa, was found on a hill of same name in Kaneohe, famed in tradition as the heiau built in the time of Olopana by his brother Kahikiula, and credited as being the temple where the demigod was taken by royal decree for sacrifice for his many depredations, together with a deposed priest, but at a crucial moment in the service the culprit turned the tables and sacrificed the king instead.

But the heiau was a disappointment; there was little about it to warrant such fame. It was a walled structure 110 x 260 feet in size, with heavy walls from four to eight feet high according to the contour of the ground. The seaward end of the heiau was leveled off, showing a trace of pavement, otherwise it looked much like an old battle enclosure or cattle pen, except that it had no gateway.

The history of Honolulu's temples present several of special interest, and though there have been many, but one is to be found today, and that a small walled one in Manoa valley, said to have been wrested from the Menehunes by Kualii and rebuilt about 1700.

Tradition says the first heiaus built for the gods were at Waolani, now the Country Club grounds, Nuuanu valley, of which the heiau of Kawaluna is credited to Kualii, about 1685, and its consecration by him by right as Moi of Oahu, after

which he routed the Kona forces that had ascended the valley to resist and prevent him.

But it is Waikiki where the principal temple history centers, to none of which, however, can we point to their time or builders. Among the more noted was Helumoa, the Apuakohau heiau where Kauhi-a-Kama, the defeated King of Maui in his raid on Oahu was slain; his body offered in sacrifice, and great indignities committed with his bones. Fornander says: "the memory of this great outrage instigated his descendant Kahekili to the fearful massacre of Oahu chiefs, after defeating Kahahana in battle at Niuhelewai (near the Insane Asylum) and conquering the island."

Kapua, a heiau at Kapahulu, not far distant from Helumoa, was later said to have been the place of sacrifice of Kaolohaka, a chief from Hawaii, on suspicion of being a spy, which act is alleged to have been the cause of Kamehameha's invasion of Oahu in his landing at Waialae.

The more famous, perhaps because more recent, was the heiau of Papaenaena, at the Kapiolani Park base of Diamond Head—the site of the new Dillingham Italian villa. This was a walled and paved structure of open terraced front, 130 x 70 feet in size, that figured prominently with Kamehameha at the opening of last century, as gathered from early voyagers and writers. Its walls were from six to eight feet high, eight feet thick at the base and four at the top. Three altars graced its western end. In Kamehameha's halt here in his planned invasion of Kauai through the serious epidemic among his army of 8,000 men, he repaired this temple to conciliate the god whom he supposed to be angry. The priests called a ten day kapu, the sacrifice of three human beings, 400 hogs, and a like number each of coconuts and bunches of bananas. An eye witness of the ceremony said: "When the slaughtering time arrived, one of the men was placed under the legs of the idol, and the other two were laid with the hogs and fruit upon the altar. They were then beaten with clubs upon the shoulders till they died of their blows."

Kamakau records the sacrifice here also by Kamehameha of his nephew Kanihonui for breaking kapu with Queen Kaahumanu. In Kotzebue's mention of this occurrence, which was about 1807, he says: "the king shed tears for the young man."

The ruins of Papaenaena were torn down by Kanaina about 1856, and its stones used for fence and road work.

NOTED HEIAUS OF KAUAI.

Proportionate to area and population, Kauai has not only the largest list of heiaus (126) but more of historic interest and varied type than the other islands, a number of which still stand in fair order for their years.

The largest of these surviving temples is that of Malae, in central Wailua, 273 x 324 feet, a walled and paved heiau so old as to be attributed to the Menehunes. Its outer walls stand from seven to ten feet high, with heavy buttressed corners, an unusual feature in Hawaiian work. Its altar was in the center toward the west wall, and around on all sides ran a ledge like that of Puu-o-Mahuka, some six feet wide, whereon the people are said to have sat during its ceremonies.

Queen (Debora) Kapule changed all its interior about 1830, by the erection of division walls for cattle and calf pens. In more recent years it has been planted to cane.

Poliahu, in upper Wailua, within sight of Malae, is a heiau of medium size in fair condition, that is said to have had working connections with its larger neighbor. It is listed for a historic landmark tablet.

A still larger one than Malae, said to have been the most famous heiau of Kauai, was that of Kuhiau, at Nawiliwili, described as a large walled and paved structure which covered an area of about four acres. It had a companion heiau called Paukini, on the rock of that name now separate from, but formerly connected with the shore, and where the priests of both temples resided. Nothing now remains of either.

A heiau of peculiar construction, and unfortunately in badly ruined condition, of which little of its history could be gathered is Kukui, at the shore of Olohena, near the boun-

dary of Lihue, a structure of two sections of 85 feet front by 196 feet in total length, showing the largest stones in its construction of any temple visited. It has also the distinction of double walls along the front section or division, with a four foot passageway between which led to the inner section. The outer of these double walls, some six feet high, were eight feet thick, and the inner walls five feet. The end wall was entirely gone, but the side walls at this rear were eleven feet thick at the shore side, and sixteen at the sea side.

Local tradition says that when the famous Kawelo was slain in battle at Wahiawa, his body was brought here and placed on the altar of Kukui for decomposition, which did not set in, and on nearing the tenth anahulu (ten day periods) his body was struck by lightning and he came to life.

The heiau of Holoholoku at Waialua, the site of which is its memory, is credited as the repository of the first kaeke or temple drum brought to these islands, introduced by Laamaikahiki. It also was the kapu place insuring distinctive births of Kauai aliis, similar to that of Kukaniloko on Oahu. This historic site is listed for landmark distinction.

Hikinaakala, at Waialua-kai, is the "long-fellow" of the islands, and though in ruins at the shore near the south side of the stream, has interest from its peculiar construction rather than historic incidents gathered. Its remaining low walls run 395 feet in length, 50 feet in width at the rear and 80 in front. It shows three distinct divisions, paved, the inner section being 100 feet in depth and in fair condition still. The end and N. E. corner wall are six feet high and eleven feet thick, of heavy stones. Two large boulders stand near the middle of the division wall of the inner section, diagonally from each other, that may have served as altars. The wider front division (80 feet) is formed by an extension on the seaward side of lighter wall which runs back 59 feet. The front wall was low and in broken condition. This is one marked for historic distinction. There is another temple ruins of the same name at Waimea, that some claim was

a place of refuge, but of which there is some doubt.

Hauola, at Waiawa, adjoining the Knudsen premises, is the best preserved heiau on the island, a low open platform structure of two divisions, 76 x 97 and 113 x 136 feet; the outer, larger section, held apparent sites of two houses at right of the supposed entrance. The inner, small section was well paved with flat stones, and stood four feet above the outer division. Heavy walls four to eight feet in height, according to the slope of the land enclosed the structure. Tradition credits its construction to King Ola, to commemorate his rescue and identification as of royal lineage. This heiau was of the human sacrifice class, and is marked with a tablet designating its historic character.

Several miles beyond Hauola, past Mana, is the interesting Polihale heiau, noted for its peculiar platform construction of five terraces, built on the seashore at the foot of a cliff of the same name. It measured 70 feet across the front, widening toward the rear, and had a depth of 104 feet. The terraces ranged from eight to five feet above each other, of varying depths of from six to thirty-three feet. All were stone paved, open platforms, with heavy side walls. The front base and lower terrace was badly damaged by stormy seas. Twelve warriors captured in battle were once killed in honor of the war-god and sacrificed on the open platform of Polihale.

A reported very famous, very sacred and large heiau of two terraced platforms was that of Kilioi, at Haena, which was not visited, nor that of the famous Lohiau temple at Ke-e, Haena point, dedicated to Laka, goddess of the hula. This is described as a walled heiau 77 x 85 feet in size. This but briefly outlines the more notable of the listed heiaus and heiau sites of the different islands of the Hawaiian group, so far as gathered. Many other temples on each island hold features, the particulars and traditional history of which, though lacking today may yet be found to hold the key of important events of the past. Having thus blazed the way I trust other searchers will take up the trail and unearth further points of interest.

An Hawaiian in Mexico in 1789-1790

BY RALPH S. KUYKENDALL.

From the days of Hawaiiiloa to the present time the Hawaiians have been great travelers. In the period immediately following the discovery of these islands by Captain Cook, scarcely a ship stopped here without carrying away one or more Hawaiians, as seamen, as servants, or, more rarely, as passengers. I need only mention a few of these: the high chief, Kaiana, whose travels are detailed in the pages of Meares' *Narrative*; the Hawaiian youth taken by Delano in 1801, who performed on the theatrical stage in Boston in the "Tragedy of Captain Cook," "and was much admired by the audience and the publick in general;"¹ Opukahaia, whose visit to the United States led to such memorable results; George Kaumualii, son of the king of Kauai, who was wounded while in the United States naval service during the War of 1812; finally, King Liholiho and his retinue, who made the famous pilgrimage to England.

The hero of the present tale was one of these travelers, who set out from his native land in the spring of 1788. What his name was in his own language, I am unable to say. The documents which I have used, written in English and Spanish, usually call him Matutaray, though one spells his name Mode-troy. Apparently he was a native of Niihau; one letter, however, speaks of him as a native of Kauai. He was probably the son of a chief of the second or third rank. The ship in which he sailed away to foreign lands was the sloop *Princess Royal*, in command of Captain Duncan.

The *Princess Royal* had left London in September of 1786 in company with the ship *Prince of Wales* on a fur trading voyage to the northwest coast of America. The latter vessel

¹ Amasa Delano, *Voyages* (Boston, 1817), p. 398.

was commanded by James Colnett, who was also the head of the expedition. The two ships came into the Pacific Ocean by way of Cape Horn, arriving on the coast in the summer of 1787. They spent some months in trading for furs and then came to the Hawaiian Islands to spend the winter. On their return to the northwest coast they sailed from Niihau, March 20, 1788. Two days before this, Captain Duncan, with the consent of Captain Colnett, received on board the *Princess Royal* the Hawaiian youth whose experiences form the subject of the present paper. In the *Princess Royal*, Matutaray spent the summer along the American coast, visited his homeland in the fall, and arrived in China in December of the same year. There he transferred from the *Princess Royal* to the *Prince of Wales* and became the servant of Captain Colnett.²

Up to this time there was nothing very remarkable in the history of this young Polynesian. But from this point on circumstances conspired to make him a principal figure in a strange series of incidents. After his arrival in China, Captain Colnett and his supercargo merged their business interests into a combination with the company represented by Captain John Meares. The purpose of this combination was to engage in the fur trade and to make a settlement on the northwest coast of America to serve as a base for their operations. The *Prince of Wales* returned to England and another ship, the *Argonaut*, was purchased to take its place. Colnett, who was to have charge of the company's ships and of their operations on the American coast, assumed command of the *Argonaut*, and his Hawaiian servant Matutaray accordingly went on board that vessel. The command of the *Princess Royal* was given to Captain Thomas Hudson. The two ships sailed from China in the spring of

² C. F. Newcombe, Preface to *Menzies' Journal of Vancouver's Voyage, April to October, 1792* (Victoria, B. C., 1923), pp. xiii-xv; James Colnett to Viceroy Revilla Gigedo, May 2, 1790. Archivo General (Mexico), Sec. de Historia, Tomo 66. This letter is contained in an *expediente* entitled, "Ocurrencias con el Indio Matutaray de las Islas de Sanduich y su entrega al Ingles Colnet." When not otherwise noted all the letters cited in the present paper are contained in this *expediente*, a copy of which was recently obtained by the Hawaiian Historical Commission.

1789, the *Princess Royal* in February and the *Argonaut* in April.³

While English fur traders were thus taking steps to establish a commercial settlement on the northwest coast of America, the Spanish government, alarmed at reports of Russian encroachments, was organizing in Mexico a naval expedition for the purpose of making a military settlement in that same region. This expedition consisted of two ships, the *Princesa* and the *San Carlos*, under the command of Ensign Esteban Josef Martinez. As chance, or the logic of the situation, would have it, both the English traders and the Spanish government picked on the same spot for their settlements. This was Nootka Sound, on the west side of the present Vancouver Island.⁴ Both Spain and England had earlier claims on this region and the attempt to carry out the plans just mentioned resulted in what is known as the Nootka Sound controversy. Fortunately we do not need, in the present connection, to go into all the details of that historic conflict.

When Colnett arrived at Nootka Sound, July 2, 1789, he found the Spanish officer Martinez already in possession of the port. Soon after, a dispute occurred and Martinez seized the two English ships, the *Argonaut* and the *Princess Royal*, and made prisoners of their officers and crews. Before the end of July the captured vessels and the prisoners were sent to the Spanish naval base at San Blas, in Mexico, to await the decision of the Viceroy.⁵

Just at this point fate intervened to change somewhat the current of Matutaray's humble existence. Martinez took away from Colnett his Hawaiian servant, removed that docile youth to his own flagship, the *Princesa*, and placed him in charge of the Franciscan friars who accompanied the Spanish expedition.

³ W. R. Manning, "The Nootka Sound Controversy" (in *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the year 1904*, pages 281-478), chap. 2.

⁴ Manning, *op. cit.*, chap. 3.

⁵ *Ibid.*, chap. 5.

as chaplains. Those reverend fathers immediately began to teach him the mysteries of the Catholic faith.⁶

It seems clear that Martinez had an ulterior purpose in thus disposing of the Hawaiian Islander. What this purpose was will be evident when we take into consideration some of the ideas which this Spanish officer is known to have possessed. In a report about the Sandwich Islands which he made to the Viceroy of New Spain, Martinez "speaks of the fruitfulness of those islands in hogs, fowls, potatoes, cassava, sugar cane, bananas, watermelons, and other fruits, with all of which the ships of foreign powers supply themselves in the stops which they make there when they come to the port of San Lorenzo or Nootka. He infers from this that it will be very useful for our nation [i. e. Spain] to make a settlement on the island of Hawaii, with which to secure the conquest of the Indians, and in order that the [other] foreigners may lose this harboring place which promotes their commerce and facilitates their passage to our coasts of California."⁷ With such ideas as these in his head it is very natural that Martinez should see in the Hawaiian youth an instrument to be used in connection with the plan which he suggested to the Viceroy. The Viceroy did not approve the proposal for a Spanish settlement in the Hawaiian Islands, but it will presently be seen that he recognized the possible advantage to be gained by taking good care of the native of those islands who had so fortunately fallen into his hands.

Martinez returned to San Blas in December, 1789, and immediately wrote a letter to the Viceroy, in which he said:

⁶ Various letters in the *expediente* mentioned in note 2 above. In a letter to the Viceroy, not included in this *expediente*, Martinez intimates that Matutary came on board the *Princesa* voluntarily, and indicates that a special effort was made to cause him to think well of the Spaniards. Martinez to Viceroy Florez, July 13, 1789. Archivo General (Mexico), Sec. de Historia, Tomo 65.

⁷ Viceroy Revilla Gigedo to Valdes, Dec. 27, 1789. Copy (from Mexican archives) in Bancroft Library. It should be borne in mind that to the Spaniards California included the whole west coast of America from Cape San Lucas north at least as far as the Russian settlements in Alaska.

[TRANSLATION]

I give notice to Your Excellency that among the prisoners from the packet boat *Argonaut* there is in this ship a native of the Sandwich Islands. He was named Matutaray, and now by his own wish is called Jose Mariano. I have him in my power. He has been instructed by the Reverend Fathers in some mysteries of our religion. He is extremely lively and makes himself understood in part in Spanish and in part by signs which everyone understands. He has been several times to Nootka; is a native of the island of Kauai. He likes our customs very much and desires that the Spaniards may go to his country in order that the English may not be permitted to come there. He also wishes to see the king [of Spain]. He offers to provide freely people from his island for Nootka or for any other place, going himself in our company. His age is about 20 or 25 years, his height 6 feet $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches. He is not bad looking, and is accustomed to dress very neatly in the Spanish fashion.⁸

On the following day one of the Franciscan friars wrote to the Viceroy announcing the return from Nootka to San Blas of himself and the other three religious brothers who had gone with the northern expedition, and asking permission for them to return to their college in Mexico City.⁹

Having received these two letters, the Viceroy, Count Revilla Gigedo, on December 17, 1789, wrote a series of orders disposing of the questions which they presented to him. He instructed Martinez to deliver Matutaray to the commandant of the Department of San Blas, so that the four religious brothers could bring him to the capital when they returned there. To the Franciscan, Fray Severo Patero, he wrote granting the permission requested for himself and his companions to return to their college, and at the same time instructing them to bring Matutaray with them and to treat him with the best care and attention possible. He notified the commandant and commissary of San Blas of the action which he had taken in the case

⁸ Martinez to the Viceroy, Dec. 6, 1789. The letter is addressed to Manuel Antonio Florez, but Count Revilla Gigedo had succeeded him as viceroy a few weeks before this date.

⁹ Fr. Severo Patero to the Viceroy, Dec. 7, 1789. The college referred to was the College of San Fernando, the missionary convent which had control of all the Franciscan missions of California.

of the four friars and the Sandwich Islander and instructed them to make whatever provision might be necessary under the circumstances.¹⁰

A few days after giving these instructions the Viceroy wrote to the king's ministers in Spain his report on the proposal of Martinez for a Spanish settlement in the Hawaiian Islands. For various reasons he disapproved of that project, but expressed his belief that it was well to gain the favor of the natives of those islands by kind treatment. As an illustration he cited the case of Matutaray, whom he had arranged to have brought to the capital, "where he will be well treated, will learn the Spanish language, and will be at hand to draw out whatever advantage the current happenings may supply."¹¹

As a result of the Viceroy's orders, Matutaray journeyed up to Mexico City in company with the pious advisers who had hitherto been looking after his spiritual welfare—and his political ideas. On arriving there, he was placed in the Franciscan College of San Fernando, where the zealous inmates of that missionary convent continued to instruct him in the doctrines of the Catholic faith, and endeavored to instill into his mind a belief in the superiority of Spanish institutions. For some months we hear nothing further about him.

In the meanwhile Captain Colnett also, with the permission of the Viceroy, went up to Mexico City in order to present his case in person to that high functionary of the Spanish government.¹² Among other things Colnett demanded the return of his Hawaiian servant. Sometime in April he addressed a letter to the Viceroy, as follows:

[TRANSLATION]

Most Excellent Sir:

Mr. James Colnett, with the respect due to Your Excellency,

¹⁰All of these letters are in the *expediente* previously noted.

¹¹Revilla Gígedo to Valdes, Dec. 27, 1789, *ut supra*. Cf. Manning, *op. cit.*, p. 356. "The Viceroy was attempting to keep this man, who was said to be chief of one of the islands, ostensibly that he might be converted to the Catholic religion; but probably the real reason was to use him in getting an opening for a Spanish settlement on the Sandwich Islands."

¹²Manning, *op. cit.*, Chap. 6.

makes known: That Don Josef Estevan Martinez at the time of taking me prisoner in the port of Nootka took from me my servant, called Modetroy, an Indian of the island of Oneehow, one of the Sandwich Islands, who voluntarily accompanied me twice from the said island and has served me faithfully for two years. The said Indian is now in the convent of San Francisco [San Fernando] of this capital, so contrary to his desire that he was going to present himself in person before Your Excellency to ask permission to return to my service, if the guard had not prevented him. The said servant is absolutely necessary to me, since I find myself continually exposed to the impositions of those who serve me. Your Excellency is not ignorant of the fact that no pretext is sufficient for violating the will of an individual and compelling him to leave the service of a foreign power; to fail in this principle under the circumstances in which I am placed, would be to violate the laws of hospitality. Besides this, I will in no way oppose the zeal of the reverend fathers; if they wish to come to my house, they will be received with all the attention which is due to their character and will have complete liberty in laboring for the conversion of the Indian, since no one desires more than I do that he should become a Christian.

Wherefore I humbly beg that Your Excellency will be pleased to order the return to me of the said servant, a favor which I expect from the acknowledged justice of Your Excellency.

JAMES COLNETT.¹³

Upon receipt of this letter the Viceroy wrote to the Guardian of the College of San Fernando, informing him of Colnett's demand and charging him to find out the real desires of Matutaray, and, if he wished to return to his former master, to deliver him up forthwith.¹⁴ To this letter the Guardian three days later returned the following answer:

[TRANSLATION]

In fulfillment of your superior order I have investigated the inclination of the Indian Mariano Matutaray. What it has been possible to learn from him is that the day past he had a talk with Captain Colnett, who told him that he would go

¹³Colnett to the Viceroy, not dated, but probably written in latter part of April, 1790.

¹⁴The Viceroy to the Guardian of San Fernando, April 27, 1790.

away with him to San Blas, from there to Sandwich (which is his country), would take people from there to be settled at Nootka, and, returning to his island, would journey to Macao; in reply to which the Indian told him yes, in order to escape from him, but not because it was his desire. That the one who engaged him at his native land, with a pledge, was another English captain (whom he calls Tenitene), who took him to Macao; from his ship they transferred him to that of Captain Colnett, whom he was (necessarily) serving, and to whose service he did not at all wish to return, far from being eager for it. That Don Estevan Martinez did not take him away from Captain Colnett, but that he himself voluntarily joined Martinez and gladly continued with him, despite the fact that the English had tried to dissuade him by threatening that the Spaniards would kill him, by browbeating him and treating him with much severity. Finally, that he does not like the English, but does like the King [of Spain], the [Catholic] Fathers, God, and does not like hell, which is the expression with which he concludes.

If the Indian were not ill with a fever, I would send him with the religious brother and the Chinaman who serve as interpreters for him, in order that he might, before some one commissioned by Your Excellency, confirm and I even believe, add to this disposition.¹⁵

With this letter before him, the Viceray drafted his reply to Colnett. It was short and to the point. He said:

[TRANSLATION]

I have learned with entire certainty that the Indian Mariano Matutaray, demanded by you as your servant, not only is not and has not been such, but that he does not wish to return to your company, for which you explained that he was eager.

Neither does it seem to be true that Don Estevan Josef Martinez took him away from you, since he confesses that he voluntarily joined that official and gladly continued with him.

In short, the Indian is free, he has resolved to follow a different course, and it has seemed to me strange that you have proceeded with so much facility in asking that he be delivered to you, assuming facts and circumstances which do not exist, according to what he himself states; for which reason I ought not to grant your petition.¹⁶

¹⁵Fr. Pablo Mugartegue to the Viceroy, April 30, 1790.

¹⁶The Viceroy to James Colnett, May 1, 1790.

One might suppose that this would settle the matter. It will be observed, however, that the correspondence thus far had raised a direct issue, involving both the veracity of Colnett and the question of the real desires of Matutaray. The English officer was not inclined to let the matter rest in this equivocal position. In his next letter he repelled the imputation which had been cast upon his honor and proposed an ingenious scheme for finding out the real feelings of the Hawaiian Islander. The letter follows:

Please your Excellency

As I never advanced a Falsity on any Subject my feelings having been extreemly hurt at receiving your Excellency's letter in which you accuse me upon what you pleased to call Infalible proofs of doing and supposing things that are not, an imputation which in my Country no Officer can put up with from even Majesty itself without calling for a Court Martial to clear up his Honor. The disadvantage I lay under of not speaking your Excellency's Language renders it easy for your Excellency to be imposed upon notwithstanding your good intentions I am convinced your Excellency has of doing Justice in every particular to the full truth of the transaction relative to the Indian which I can prove from demonstrative documents is as follows; on the Eighteenth of March One Thousand seven hundred & Eighty Eight Capt Duncan Commanding the Princess Royal but under my orders at the Isle of Oneehow in my presence & with my approbation Receivd this Indian from his Father, a second rank Chief on that Island. After a Voyage on the W. Coast of America during which he remaind on board the said Sloop we met again at the same Isle in the Month of October following & from thence he sailed in the same Sloop for Macao when he came on board my Vessel in the Month of December the same year since which time continued near my person doing all the dutys of a servant untill my capture by Commodore Martinez. Whther he joind as your Excellency says Commodore Martinez by force or Election I will not pretend to decide; he should have treated him as a prisoner like the rest of my Men. This I can say with certainty that upon our meeting, I speak of the few times he could get to my House, he shed tears requesting my interference for his coming back and the same has been the case at this City which those who have frequented my house can testify.

Your Excellency having been informd of another story may be easily explained from the constraint the poor man is under. So great is the influence of the Priests in his Isle that if any person acts or speaks against their will they announce the hour of his Death and find secret means to have the prophesy acomplished and for this reason the poor man dares not tell his mind before the Fathers whilst to me who can understand him, he has been making such moans as have moved my Compassion to demand him.

Your Excellency will give me leave further to observe that his being born free is no argument for Keeping him, for at this rate most of the Crew of the Vessel may leave me & she remain to rot before I could get men to sail her for every Briton is born free, moreover I am however perfectly satisfied to leave the decision of this test of his own election which I see no other manner of discovering Infallibly but this; let the Indian be kept a few days away from the Friars and me after which let your Excellency ask him which he prefers the Friars or me which in his own Language is said in the following words. Oe No Noho haree Tene none Capetain Oe No Noho ha ree Padre Tahuna—or otherwise—Modetroy oe hoe haree Tene no ne or Capetain hoe hoe har oe haree Padree Tehuna.

This method I am sure Your Excellency will approve as an impartial one on my part & even tho' absence, persuasion and dread of [in]difference of being a proselyte or treated as a servant may operate a Change in the Indian your Excellency will I hope do me still the Justice to think me incapable of Falsity or anything else [un] becoming a man of Honor.

I have the Honor to be your Excellency's

Most obedient Humble Servant,

JAMES COLNETT.

Mexico,

May 2, 1790.

In his reply to this letter, the Viceroy admitted that there was some lack of exactness in his own previous letter in which he stated that he had learned with "entire certainty" that Matutaray was not and had not been Colnett's servant, but he called attention to the fact that the English officer had been guilty of the same error, in saying that the Viceroy spoke of "infallible proofs." And he reminded Colnett that at the very moment when he was insisting that he should receive the re-

spect due him because of his rank as an officer, he failed to observe the greater respect due to the Viceroy by reason of his higher rank. Finally he declared that under the circumstances he considered that his decision in reference to the Sandwich Islander was the most noble use he could make of his authority.¹⁷

Apparently Colnett's "impartial method" of discovering the real inclinations of the Hawaiian youth did not appeal to the practical sense of Count Revilla Gigedo. Matutaray seemed destined to continue his studies in the Franciscan College of San Fernando, whether he wished to do so or not. To all appearances the inflexible attitude of the Viceroy left Colnett no alternative but to accept that official's decision, and he took leave of the matter, for the time being, by writing a letter in which he disclaimed any intention of giving the smallest offense to the Viceroy.

I therefore expect and request your Excellency will consider the said answer as entirely directed to defend my own reputation without the most distant Idea of failing in the respect or attention due your Excellency's exalted station.

As to the Indian I have acquitted my conscience, making every remonstrance in my power for to return him to Country, Mother, Wives, Children, & Father from whom he was received with my consent and approbation, nor could I in Honor & Justice to myself, have omitted those remonstrances as every word & action relative to all this transaction will be communicated to my King & Parliament when a free People will applaud or censure my conduct according as they judge. I have discharged my duty in supporting the Honor of my Country. I hope your Excellency will not disapprove of my paying a visit to the poor Indian before my departure.¹⁸

In reply to this letter the Viceroy stated that he had no objection to Colnett's paying a farewell visit to the Hawaiian youth.¹⁹ The English captain accordingly went to see Matutaray. The sequel of that interview will appear shortly.

¹⁷The Viceroy to James Colnett, May 4, 1790.

¹⁸Colnett to the Viceroy, May 5, 1790.

¹⁹The Viceroy to James Colnett, May 6, 1790.

In the meanwhile the Viceroy had formulated his decision with respect to the English prisoners and the captured ships. That decision was that the prisoners should be released and the ships restored to their English masters, Colnett and Hudson. This decision was communicated to Colnett on the twenty-seventh of April. Colnett, however, was not satisfied with the conditions proposed by the Viceroy, and therefore besieged that official with a series of letters, setting forth his demands and the reasons therefor, not forgetting to remind the representative of the Spanish crown that all the details of this affair would be reported to the English king and parliament. One of the most insistent of Colnett's demands was for a passport which would permit him to engage in the fur trade along the northwest coast. Ultimately the Viceroy yielded to the Englishman's importunities and granted virtually everything that he asked. The desired passport was sent to him on the eleventh of May.²⁰ On that day also the Viceroy addressed another letter to the Guardian of the College of San Fernando, in which he said:

[TRANSLATION]

The Englishman Colnett has again demanded the Indian of Sandwich, stating that he went to see him and that he expressed himself as wishing to go with him to his own country. At that place he [Colnett] has pledged his word to his [Matutaray's] relatives to return him, and if this Indian is not going to be a good Catholic and is going to be impatient and violent as soon as he sees the impossibility of returning to his people, I believe it better that he should be delivered up to him. Your Reverence can do this by virtue of the present notice, in which I request and charge you to do so.²¹

When Colnett finally sailed from San Blas, July 9, 1790, in the ship *Argonaut*, Matutaray was with him.²² It would be

²⁰Manning, *op. cit.*, pp. 354-357.

²¹The Viceroy to the Guardian of San Fernando, May 11, 1790. This is the last letter in the *expediente*.

²²The Viceroy to Valdes (No. 6 Reservada), July 28, 1790. Copy (from Mexican archives) in the Bancroft Library. In a later letter to Count Floridablanca, the viceroy says that Matutaray, after being for some time in the College of San Fernando, returned to Colnett and went away with him voluntarily. The Viceroy to Floridablanca, Sept. 1, 1791. Copy as above.

interesting to know whether or not he was really restored to his Hawaiian home. To that question we are not able to give a positive answer. Colnett spent the fall and winter of 1790-1791 along the American coast, collecting a cargo of furs. In the spring of the latter year he returned to China, stopping en route at the Hawaiian Islands, where he remained nearly three weeks, from the end of March. We know positively that he visited the islands of Hawaii and Niihau, and there seems no reason to doubt that he also stopped at Kauai.²³ Therefore, if Matutaray remained on the *Argonaut*, as we must suppose that he did, he had the happiness of seeing once more, in the spring of 1791, the palm-girt shores of his mid-Pacific home.

²³What is here said about Colnett's movements after leaving San Blas is discussed at length in another paper by the present writer, on the subject, "James Colnett and the *Princess Royal*." The proofs and citations are too numerous to be given here.

APPENDIX.

It was my intention to append, in a footnote, a correct modern version of the Hawaiian sentences contained in Colnett's letter of May 2, 1790, together with an English translation. With this in view I wrote to several gentlemen, members of this Society, who have had much experience with the language. All of these gentlemen responded with suggestions, but the replies, considered together, show that the project is more difficult than I anticipated. It is quite impossible to reconcile the different versions suggested or to effect an acceptable compromise, though there is a fair amount of agreement as to the general meaning. The limits of available space forbid printing entire the answers received.

The greatest difficulty seems to be in the interpretation of Colnett's words "tene none." The following suggestions are made as to possible equivalents:

- (a) *Kimo none*, translated as "slow Jamie."
- (b) Hawaiian for Colnett.
- (c) *Kini noni*, translated as "very (or many times) anxious."
- (d) *Tene* = *maanei* ("here").
None = *no anei*.

In the same order, the following are suggested as possible English translations of Colnett's words:

- (a) (Will) you stay (at the) house (of) slow Jamie (the) Captain? (Will) you stay (at the) house (of the) priest?—or otherwise—Moekaleo [Modetroy] (will) you return (to) house (of) slow Jamie or (shall) Captain return you to house (of) priest?
- (b) Will you stay and Captain Colnett sail away, you to remain at the Padre priest's house?—or otherwise—Modetroy, will you go with Colnett, or (shall the) Captain return you (to the) Padre priest's house?
- (c) Will you abide with the very anxious Captain? or abide with the kahuna priest?—or otherwise—Modetroy! Will you return to the house of the very anxious Captain? Or will you go back again to the house of the kahuna priests?
- (d) Do you wish to remain quietly here with the Captain? Do you want to remain quietly with the priest?—or otherwise—Do you want to return quietly here? or Will the Captain send you back quietly to house of the priests?

A New Document of John Young

READ BY HON. G. R. CARTER.

[The following letter is taken from the Gregg Collection, which contains the diaries and letter books of Hon. David L. Gregg, U. S. Commissioner to Hawaii, 1853-1858, and Hawaiian Minister of Finance, 1858-1862. This important collection of documents has been loaned to the Hawaiian Historical Commission, for the use of that official territorial organization, by Mr. David L. Gregg, of Glendale, California, a son of Commissioner Gregg. The letter is presented to the Historical Society with the permission of Mr. Gregg. Its importance will be appreciated by those familiar with the existing literature on John Young. For earlier discussions of the question see the articles by Bishop H. B. Restarick, Mr. G. R. Carter, and Mr. Edgar Henriques, in the *Reports* of this Society for 1913, pp. 25-43, and 1916, pp. 46-54. See also Thrum's *Annual* for 1911, pp. 93-104, and 1916, pp. 125-126.]

Per Yankee

Legation of the United States
Honolulu, August 30, 1856.

Sir:

Your letter of the 4th of June last, making inquiries in regard to the family of John Young has been received.

John Young, the father of John Young, who is now Minister of the Interior in this Kingdom, and grandfather of the present Queen, was born at Crosley, near Liverpool, on the 17th of March, 1744. Prior to our revolution he went to the North American Colonies and was engaged as a seaman, chiefly from the Ports of New York & Philadelphia. In the winter of 1789-90 he left the United States on the ship *Eleanor*, Capt. Metcalfe, and arrived at the Island of Hawaii in March of the latter year. Soon after, being on shore he was cut off from the *Eleanor* & detained a captive. For some time he, together with Isaac Davis, an American, was watched with great care, but in the end, finding escape impossible they became reconciled

to their lot & identified their fortunes with the then savages of the Islands.

Young married a high chief woman, became a great favorite with Kamehameha I & laid the foundation of wealth & position for his family.

He left two sons, James & John, the latter of whom is Minister of the Interior of this Kingdom. The former is dead. There are I believe three surviving daughters, one of them mother of the Queen. An older son Robert, born Feb. 14, 1796, was sent to Boston to be educated in 1802. He was in our naval service in the war of 1812; was taken prisoner in the battle of Lake Champlain & sent to Bermuda, since which time he has never been heard of.

John Young, (the captive of 1790) was the son of Robert & Grace Young. He had two brothers, Peter & James, both of whom were pilots at Liverpool.

For these particulars I am chiefly indebted to Dr. T. C. B. Rooke, who is married to a daughter of John Young (Sen) & possesses most of the papers left by him.

Through Dr. Rooke I have also obtained some scanty information which may possibly afford a clue to the fate of the John Young about whom you enquire.

It appears that about the period the John Young of the Eleanor was captured on Hawaii, another person of the same name resided in the Island of Oahu. The latter wrote a letter to the former inviting him to come to Oahu. An escape was attempted, but defeated through the vigilance of Kamehameha & his chiefs.

In a memorandum or Journal kept by John Young of the Eleanor, the Brig Washington, John Kendrick master, is mentioned as the first vessel that entered the harbor of Honolulu. She was engaged in the war then prevailing among the chiefs, & the Capt. was accidentally killed by a wad from one of the guns of his ship while going ashore.

The foregoing is simply an abstract of what information

I have been able to collect. Dr. Rooke has written me a long communication on the subject, a copy of which shall be at your service if you desire it.

The Young family here has always been reputed to be of immediate English origin, and I think there is ample testimony to show that it is so in fact.

Very respectfully yours,

DAVID L. GREGG.

COL. WM. P. YOUNG,
Washington, D. C.

The First Clergyman Resident in Hawaii

BY THE RT. REV. HENRY B. RESTARICK.

The first clergyman to live in Hawaii was an Englishman named John Howel. He so spells his name in various signatures yet extant, though those writing of him generally spell it with two "l's."

Vancouver arrived in Kealakekua Bay on January 12, 1794. He writes:

"With Kavahilo also resided a person by the name of Howell who had come to Hawaii in the capacity of clerk on board the Washington. He appeared to possess a good understanding with the advantages of a university education, and had been once a clergyman of the Church of England, but had now secluded himself from European society."¹

Howel having been ordained, would always be a clergyman, though for cause he might have his license to officiate withdrawn.

Archibald Menzies, who was the surgeon and naturalist with Vancouver, writes in his journal on January 13, 1794:

"John Young came on board and brought a complimentary letter from a Mr. Howell who lived on shore at Kealakekua under the protection of our old friend Keaweakeula, chief of the district. We found here the Lady Washington, a snow, under American colors commanded by Mr. Kendrick. She had been on the North West Coast last summer collecting furs and meant to return again in the spring to complete her cargo. It was on this vessel (of 90 tons burden) that Mr. Howell came from China with intent to remain some time on these Islands, and for this purpose he had taken up his abode on shore."²

Jarves, fifty years later, wrote that Howel arrived on the Margaret, but he evidently is in error as the statements of Vancouver and Menzies are positive that he came on the Washing-

¹Vancouver: Voyage of Discovery. Ed. 1801, p. 115.

²Hawaii nei 128 years ago: Journal of Archibald Menzies, F. J. Wilson, 1920, p. 143-4.

ton. This vessel arrived at Kealakekua Bay about Dec. 1, 1793. It is certain that he was at Nootka Sound in 1792. A portion of the log of the *Margaret* is in Salem, Massachusetts. This gives John Howell on the roster of officers, on which he is listed as "Historian." A statement follows that all the officers "were Americans excepting Captain Magee who was an Irishman, and Howell who was an Englishman." The *Margaret* sailed from Boston on October 24, 1791, and reached Nootka on April 24, 1792.³

With this Historical Society there is the photostat copy of the journal of a man who was with Vancouver, but on the *Chatham*, whose name is uncertain. In this there is an entry under date of August, 1792, as follows:

"There was at Nootka a gentleman by the name of Howell living on shore. The same arrived on an American brig belonging to Captain Magee."

Vancouver was at Nootka in the summer of 1792 in order to settle the dispute with the Spaniards as to the possession of territory.

Greenhow in his *History of the North West* writes:

"The account of the transactions between Vancouver and Quandra (the Spanish Commissioner) was summarized by Howell, the supercargo of the *Margaret* who acted as translator for Quandra."⁴ He says Howell "was or had been an Episcopal clergyman."

In Ingraham's *Journal of the Voyage of the Hope, 1790-3*, there is the statement that he met the *Margaret* on the coast in the summer of 1792 and that it carried a "Mr. Howell who was charged with the duty of writing an account of the voyage."

Captain Kendrick arrived at Nootka from China June 13, 1791, and sailed for the Orient again on September 25 the same year, but, owing to an accident, did not return until the summer of 1793, when he had Howel with him. From this it appears that Howel must have gone to China on the *Margaret* or some other vessel, and there have met Kendrick and become

³Log of *Margaret*, kindness of Judge Howay, New Westminster, B. C.

⁴Greenhow, p. 179.

associated with him. The complete log of the *Margaret* is in New York and it is believed a copy can be obtained and probably this would clear up this point.

It is certain that he did not meet Kendrick at Nootka in 1792 as the Captain was in China when the *Margaret* was at Nootka. Howel was in China in March, 1793, as will appear from what follows. In 1791, Kendrick while at Nootka had bought from the Indians considerable tracts of land, "with all rivers, creeks, harbors and islands" included in the land purchased. The deeds Kendrick deposited with the United States Consul at Canton. Letters of Howel and copies of the deeds attested by him were sent by Kendrick from the Island of King Kong to Thomas Jefferson to remain in the Department of State. Kendrick's letter accompanying the deeds attested by Howel is dated March, 1793, so that the Padre must have been in China at that time coöperating with the Captain of the *Washington*.

The documents mentioned constituted important evidence in the dispute between the United States and England in regard to the North-western boundary matter.

It is worth mentioning that a part of the evidence in the controversy was that: "On June 26, 1835, John Young at Hawaii gave a sworn certificate that he had often heard Kendrick speak of his purchase and had seen the deeds."⁵

From Nootka Howel came on the *Washington* to Hawaii, as we have seen. Menzies saw much of Howel in the early part in 1794 and mentions him by name seven times in his journal. On January 14 Kendrick and Howel visited Vancouver on the *Discovery* and were invited to dine with him the next day.

On February 6 an expedition set out with the purpose of ascending Mauna Loa. It consisted of Menzies accompanied by Howel, three officers of the ships and a chief named Luhea, who was appointed by the King to attend the party. They went in double canoes down the coast calling at Honaunau and

⁵H. H. Bancroft, Vol. xxii, p. 245. Note—Hall J. Kelly in his *North West Coast* gives the deeds in full.

other places until Pakini Bay was reached. Here they landed and proceeded in a direct line to the summit. When they arrived at the lower edge of the crater Howel's shoes were cut to pieces on the lava and besides this he was exhausted, so he remained behind with all the natives except one who carried the barometer. It is remarkable that Menzies calculated the height of the mountain to be 13,634 feet, which is within 41 feet of the Government survey. Menzies was the first white man and probably the first human being to make the ascent.

When Menzies returned to the place where he had left Howel, he found that the Padre and all the natives but two had gone down the mountain. He was greatly annoyed and distressed to find that they had taken with them the "small quantity of liquor which had been carefully preserved for emergencies."⁶

The well known story told by Cleveland, if true, would imply that Howel lived on the Islands some time. He says that when the Padre had acquired sufficient of the language and had "ingratiated himself into the favor of the King," he talked with him about God and the folly of idolatry. Kamehameha told him to go throw himself over the pali near by and if he was unhurt he would believe.⁷

This would seem to be impossible if Howel had lived in the Islands but a few months, which would have been the case if he had returned to Nootka in the spring of 1794 in the *Washington*, when she went to the North West Coast to complete her cargo. If he stayed in Hawaii while Kendrick went to Nootka until he returned late in 1794 he would have lived here a little over a year. This seems probable, for Menzies says Howel had taken up his residence on shore "intending to remain some time on these Islands." In October, 1791, Kendrick, who originated the sandal wood trade, had left three men in the islands to collect the wood and he may well have left the Padre to look after the business while he went to the Coast and

⁶Menzies: 175-199.

⁷Cleveland's voyages, vol. I, p. 233.

returned. Writers and tradition assume that the man resided in the Islands longer than a few months. If he resided here a year he might have acquired sufficient of the language to enable him to talk about God to the King. Cleveland in 1803 seems to imply that Howel resided here some considerable time. He says: "Among others who took advantage of permission to live here was a Mr. Howell commonly called Padre Howell." He must have obtained this information from some one who knew the man.

There is a tradition that Kamehameha was desirous of tying to the soil the white men who were of value to him. To this end he got Howel to unite in marriage Young, Davis and perhaps some others to the women they had taken as wives. He thought these men would not be likely to leave the Islands if they were married by a rite which they considered sacred and binding. If this is true, Howel would undoubtedly have used the marriage service of the Prayer Book.

Captain Kendrick, having returned to Honolulu late in 1794, was accidentally killed in Honolulu harbor on December 7, 1794, by a ball fired by mistake for a blank cartridge, from Captain Brown's ship, the *Jackall*. Howel was with the *Washington* at this time and probably read the Prayer Book service over the body of the Captain, as tradition says that he did.

I believe that Kendrick was buried at the place where Captain Derby was interred in 1802 and Isaac Davis in 1810. Captain Cleveland in 1803 says that his guide conducted him to a secluded spot where there were cocoanut trees and grass and showed him the grave of his old friend "Captain Derby, who died last year."⁸

We know that Derby's grave was near what is now the makai corner of King and Piikoi streets. Here in 1817 Kotzebue saw the grave of Isaac Davis as he says: "in a spot set apart as a cemetery for the burial of foreigners."⁹ Many now living remember seeing the grave stones of Derby and Davis at

⁸ Cleveland's voyages. 1843 ed., vol. I, p. 233.

⁹ Kotzebue. 1821 ed., p. 258.

the place named until they were removed in 1900. They state that there were a number of sunken unmarked graves near by. If the chiefs designated a place for the burial of a foreigner in 1794 it is likely that other foreigners who died later in Honolulu would be interred in the same location.

Boit in his log of the *Union*, a photostat copy of which is in the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library, says that Howel sailed for China in the *Lady Washington* in January, 1795.¹⁰

It is evident that he left the *Washington* on its arrival in China and went into business as a sort of agent or broker. In the log of the *Ruby*, Captain Bishop, there are frequent references to Howel. The *Ruby* reached Canton in April, 1796, bearing, so the log states: "two letters from Captain Simpson of the *Washington* to a Mr. Howell whom I had heard of at Macao. To this gentleman's house I went and found him a person of very genteel address. I found he did business as a broker. I thought it best to consign the sale of the cargo to him."¹¹

The business of Captain Bishop with Howel was not satisfactory from the Captain's account. He believed that the Padre was not straight in his dealings. He carried on business under the name of "John Howel and Company." Captain Bishop supposed at first that Howel owned the *Washington*, but found later that he was only part owner and "ship's husband." His last dealing with Howel was in August, 1796.

From letters from Howel in the Bureau of Rolls, Department of State, Washington, D. C., it appears that he made a trip to Manila at the end of May, 1796, and returned after a brief stay to Macao.

There is on file also a letter from Howel to Joseph Barrill, agent, which claims that the estate of Kendrick owes him \$17,787. The last letter from the Padre is dated May 28, 1798.

¹⁰Log of *Union*, by Boit.

¹¹Log of *Ruby*.

It may be that there are records in Canton giving information relative to Howel and this I am trying to obtain. I have been unable to find anything of later date in regard to the man.¹²

In an article appearing in the *Friend* in 1862, W. H. Pease writes that Howel was called Padre because "of his religious life and conversation," but no doubt he received this title because it was the common appellation given by sailors to all clergymen.

I may add here that one has to be careful in accepting dates except from journals and logs. As an instance one historian states that Kendrick was killed in Kealakekua Bay in 1793. H. H. Bancroft, Vol XXII, p. 245, says that he should put the date of Kendrick's death as late as 1796 if it were not for Howel's letters. An encyclopedia says that he was killed about 1800.

I have given the date of Kendrick's death as on December 7, 1794, but Alexander says it was December 13.

It was difficult for men writing on the North West Coast to get accurate information. The only source was oral communication from ships' masters who had touched the Islands and heard stories as to his death, lacking definite information as to dates. The dates which I have given throughout are from reliable sources and checked off by contemporary evidence. I have given references in foot notes for all authorities quoted.

I am indebted to Judge F. W. Howay of New Westminster, B. C., who is a member of the "Commission on Historic Sites and Monuments in Canada," for several points of interest in the foregoing article. I also wish to acknowledge the courteous assistance of Howard M. Ballou of the Geo. R. Carter collection of Hawaiiana, who has always been ready to aid me in obtaining references.

¹² Later. The American Consul at Canton writes that he has no records previous to 1848.

Nichols' "Alumni Oxonienses" gives three possible John Howells:

(1) John H. son of Thomas H. of "Lame Porterwellfry"—Lampeter Velfry, Co. Pembroke, pleb. Trinity College. Matriculated 27.3.1740, aged 19. B. A. 1743 (*as Howel*).

2(2) John H. son of James H. of Llangunllo, Co. Cardigan, pleb. Jesus College. Matriculated 15.7.1749, aged 17. B. A. 1753. M. A. 1756.

(3) John H. son of Thomas H. of Lanwinio, Co. Carmarthen, gent. Jesus College. Matriculated 10.5.1771, aged 18.

This would make their ages 70, 62 and 41 respectively when met by Vancouver in 1794.

An Early Painting of Honolulu

BY STEPHEN W. PHILLIPS OF SALEM, MASSACHUSETTS.

Some years ago a painting of Honolulu, made in 1821, by C. E. Bensell of Boston, Mass., which had probably hung in some old counting room or shipping office in Boston, came into the possession of an eminent Boston collector, Mr. Charles H. Taylor, who has kindly permitted me to have it reproduced for the Hawaiian Historical Society.

It is a crude work, painted probably by some officer or passenger on one of the traders or whale ships which were visiting the Islands at that time. In the harbor there are three full-rigged ships. The one in the foreground, probably that of the artist, displays a large American flag. Two sailing canoes are also shown, one of which has a lateen sail, perhaps of matting. The mountains are not very clearly drawn, but can be identified in a rough way and the Nuuanu Valley is very clearly shown. The Fort, with its flag, and the Battery on Punchbowl are the two most important edifices. All the houses save two seem to be grass huts. The larger one, with a stockade round it, stands somewhere near the palace grounds and is probably the home of the king. One of the two frame

houses is just beyond this primitive palace and the other, a large two-story house, is near the mouth of the Nuuanu stream. Perhaps some local historian can identify them. A number of coconut palms are shown in the low land, and the hills and mountains except Punchbowl, which is bare, are represented as well wooded.

The picture is an interesting one as giving an idea of Honolulu at the time the mission was being established and the town was beginning to assume commercial importance.

I have been unable to identify the artist, C. E. Bensell, in any way. It is to be hoped that some one familiar with the early commercial records of Honolulu may recognize the name as that of an officer or supercargo of one of the ships which visited Hawaii in 1821. From the fact that the large ship in the foreground has an American flag I am inclined to think that he came out in an American ship.

STEPHEN W. PHILLIPS.

Salem, Mass., November 1, 1923.

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